

we can talk tomorrow and maybe we can figure out a way that we can proceed. However, I am not going to give up my opportunity to talk about how harsh this legislation is, and I am not going to give up my opportunity, in every way I can, to point out the weaknesses. There will be plenty of opportunity next week as well.

I hope when we do move forward—and this is something I want to discuss with the leader—there will be the opportunity for amendments, and we will have a full-scale debate; we will operate as a Senate, which is what the majority leader and minority leader want us to do. For tonight, I have to object, and I object for those reasons.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The minority leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, once again, we hear the eloquent passion of a Senator who cares deeply about an issue. I applaud him for that passion and his compassion for those who are now out of work as a result of layoffs in Minnesota. I understand how deeply felt his views are.

He has expressed, in his own eloquent way, that it is within his right to object tonight. Each Senator has enormous power to stop things. Each Senator has enormous power to change the legislative process.

The majority leader, on several occasions, could have thwarted this process, avoided regular order, prevented Senators from the opportunity that I believe we will have next week to offer amendments. He could have done a number of things using his rights, first as a Senator and, secondly, as a leader, to undermine what we have delicately constructed here in this new bipartisan environment. He could have done that. Senator LOTT chose not to do that.

The majority leader said, in keeping with the spirit we are trying to maintain, as much as I wanted to go to this bill 3 weeks ago, last week, the week before, as many times as we have talked about this, every time I have asked him, he has said: Look, I am going to try to maintain the kind of spirit that we have been able to create so far where we can have a win-win; Senators who are passionately opposed to this bill ought to have the right to express themselves, ought to have the right to offer amendments, ought to have the right to have a good debate; Senators who want to move this process along ought to be able to use the tools available to them to do that as well.

What we are trying to do is to strike a delicate balance because there is passion on both sides. There is a depth of feeling on both sides. I, frankly, have been on both sides because I am so ambivalent about the importance of the arguments raised by the Senator from Minnesota as well as the concern that I have for the abuse we find in the system.

I appreciate very much the Senator from Minnesota expressing himself and at least giving us the possibility that we could revisit this issue tomorrow, and I recognize, once again, that if every Senator exercised all of their rights, we probably wouldn't get much done in this body.

But because everybody uses common sense, attempts to strike a balance between exercising those rights and moving along the legislative process, generally, we have worked out things in a way that has accommodated the needs of most people. It is in keeping with that spirit that I hope we can talk to the issue again tomorrow. I thank the Senator from Minnesota, and I thank the majority leader.

I yield the floor.

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I appreciate the comments of the Senator from South Dakota. He has been working with me in good faith. We communicate regularly. We have to keep trying to do that. That is why I sense that he feels the same frustration that I do, that we both try to bend over backward to accommodate everybody, and it is still very tough. We are facing further delays.

I am encouraged. The Senator from Minnesota has indicated we can talk tomorrow, and we will look for a way to move this legislation forward in a way that is acceptable hopefully to him and everybody else. I will look for him tomorrow.

There are two points I want to make. The first bill we pass in the Senate this year is not going to be the bankruptcy bill. I think the first one we passed was pipeline safety. It is good legislation, broadly supported. We passed one other bill that week. I think pipeline safety was the first one.

The other thing is that I understand how the Senator feels, and you have to have some emotions and compassion for people who get into difficult straits. There needs to be a way for them to come out of them and get a job or have a job and get back into business. Also, this is personal with me, too. My mother and father tried to be small business owners. My dad was a pipefitter in the shipyard. It was hot, tough work. He decided they could get into the furniture business at one point. He would go pick up the furniture in his pickup truck and bring it back to the store. It was Market Street Furniture Company. I will never forget it. He would do the selling and delivering, and they sold a lot of items on credit. My mother was the bookkeeper in the back of the store. One of the reasons why they could not make it was that many of those people to whom they sold the furniture on credit just would not pay their bills.

So there is another side. There are small business men and women who wind up holding the bag, and when you are a small business man or woman,

that profit margin is pretty tiny. It is 5 percent, 10 percent maybe. But I remember it was very small in that furniture store.

There were other factors involved, but eventually it ran them out of business. My dad went back to the shipyard, and he got to work in the pipe department. But that is the other side of the coin.

What about the small business men and women who are out there trying to create jobs to help their family and people say, "We don't want to pay"? A lot of them hide behind bankruptcy.

I have supported bankruptcy laws and reform of bankruptcy laws. I supported the bankruptcy judges system. But we have made it too easy now for people to use bankruptcy as an excuse to hide and get out of paying what they owe. There is broad, bipartisan support on this. I think we ought to get it done as soon as we can. I will work with the Senator to make sure he believes his voice was heard. I know how he feels about it personally. I do, too. There is another side of that coin. It is kind of a family thing with me. We will find a way to get it done.

I thank Senator DASCHLE and Senator REID for staying on the floor and working through this.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I don't want to debate the majority leader tonight. I want him to know that one of the good things about the very important debate we are going to have is that I will be able—the Presiding Officer is involved in this debate as well—to cite independent study after independent study showing that the abuse, when it comes to bankruptcy, is a very small percentage. I think the majority leader will be pleased to hear that given the comment he made. We will have the debate. I thank the majority leader.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate enter into a period of morning business with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BLACK HISTORY MONTH

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize the celebration of Black History month. It began in the 1920's when Dr. Carter G. Woodson, a historian and educator, proposed the idea of creating "Negro History Week" during the second week of February to commemorate the history and achievements of the black community. He chose this week to honor the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, both of whom had a great impact on the lives of African Americans across the country. Since 1976, we

have dedicated the entire month of February to celebrating the contributions of African Americans throughout our Nation's history.

Today, African Americans represent about 13 percent of our total population, and they greatly contribute to the increasingly dynamic cultural tapestry of America. Over the years, they have actively shaped the future of our country in the roles of teachers, parents, judges, doctors, lawyers, religious leaders, and factory workers.

Although the African American population of my home State is smaller than most, the cultural heritage of South Dakota has been enriched by our African American community.

I am proud to tell you about Oscar Micheaux, the first African American to produce a feature-length film, as well as the first African American to break the "sound barrier" with a "talkie" motion picture, the earliest form of film with sound. Born to freed slaves in 1884, Micheaux grew up in Illinois as one of 11 children, before he moved to South Dakota to become a farmer. It was on the South Dakota prairie that he began to write, publish, and sell his first novels.

At a time when blacks were not welcome in the film industry, Micheaux started his own company, where he wrote, directed, and produced at least 43 movies during the course of his life. He dealt with such controversial subjects as white-on-black crime, intra-racial discrimination, and lynching. In 1919, he released "The Homesteader," a movie based on his autobiographical book that describes his experiences on the South Dakota plains. This became the first feature length film produced by an African American.

Because Hollywood discriminated against blacks, Micheaux was forced to do all of the work for his films independently. He was responsible for not only producing, but distributing his films which were only viewed in segregated black theaters. Some of his films that addressed issues like real estate discrimination and inter-racial relationships were censored and confiscated for being too "controversial." Despite facing discrimination, Micheaux paved the way for blacks in the film industry.

Micheaux is revered by such entertainment industry figures as Spike Lee, Robert Townsend, Tim Reid, and Carl Franklin. South Dakota holds an annual film festival in Micheaux's honor. A true pioneer in every sense, he is a hero to all Americans who have a dream.

I salute this accomplished, self-made man. His achievements serve as a wonderful example of how barriers can be overcome and how dreams can be attained. Micheaux and other figures in the African American community remind us of the difference an individual can make to the Nation, and that

dreams can still be attained, even in the face of adversity. Micheaux's life encompasses Dr. King's vision when he said that he had a dream that "... children will one day live in a Nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character."

We are still working today to realize this dream. Black History Month not only celebrates the individual achievements of the African American community, but reminds us all that we need to come together as a greater community to ensure that everyone has equal rights, freedoms, and the resources to achieve their dreams.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. President, I rise today in recognition, honor and celebration of Black History Month. This year's theme is "Creating and Defining the African-American Community: Family, Church, Politics and Culture." We should use the forum this month to educate all Americans that African-American history is American history. African-Americans have played a key role in shaping America by their known and untold contributions to science, art, education, politics, commerce and culture.

Dr. Carter G. Woodson is the founder of Black History Week which has expanded to Black History Month. Dr. Woodson, the son of slaves, realized that the rich and detailed history of African-Americans was in danger of fading to obscurity, so he became an impassioned teacher and advocate of African-American history, and created some of the first courses and textbooks devoted to this topic. He also founded what is now known as the Association for the Study of African-American Life and History. A firm believer in the importance of education, he studied at Harvard, the Sorbonne in Paris and the University of Chicago. Dr. Woodson was also Dean at Howard University in Washington DC.

Black History Month gives Americans an opportunity not only to learn of great African-American leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., but also to learn of lesser known African-Americans who have played key roles in molding our great country. For instance, most Americans do not know that Jean Baptist Pointe DuSable founded the city of Chicago. Mr. DuSable was born in 1745 in Haiti to a white French sea captain and a black former slave. After his mother's death, Mr. DuSable went to France with his father to be educated and at the age of 20 sailed to America. Eventually, Mr. DuSable settled in what would become the great State of Illinois and became a fur trader. In 1779, Mr. DuSable built a trading post in a location that the Indians called Eschikcago or "place of smelly waters." The trading post eventually developed into the settlement now known as Chicago.

Similarly, Lewis Howard Latimer made great contributions to society.

Mr. Latimer perfected Thomas Edison's invention of the electric light bulb by creating the carbon filament light bulb. Mr. Latimer was the sole African-American member of Edison's team of inventors. His 1881 creation of the carbon filament light bulb alleviated the electric light bulb's design flaws of a short life span and a tendency to shatter when becoming too hot.

In addition, African-Americans like Daniel Hale Williams have accomplished astounding breakthroughs in the medical field. One night a deliveryman, who had been stabbed in the heart, was rushed into the emergency room at Chicago's Provident Hospital. Dr. Williams decided to open the man's chest and operate. He successfully repaired the torn tissue in the man's heart and completed the operation. Dr. Williams made history that night as the first doctor to perform open-heart surgery. His patient went on to live for another 20 years.

Dr. Charles Richard Drew also made contributions that revolutionized the medical field. Dr. Drew was a world-renowned surgeon, medical assistant and educator. He transformed the practice of medicine by creating a way to preserve blood. Dr. Drew also created the first blood bank and developed a way to efficiently store blood plasma.

While most Americans know of the courageous story of Rosa Parks, not as many are aware of the bravery of her predecessor, Ida B. Wells-Barnett. Ms. Wells-Barnett was a school teacher who refused to give up her seat on a Memphis-bound train. After being physically forced out of her seat, Ms. Wells-Barnett brought a suit against the railroad for their actions, and won. Later, however, the State court overruled the decision of the circuit court. Ida Wells went on to become an influential journalist. She moved to Chicago at the turn of the century and worked tirelessly to fight against the horrible scourge of lynching, and to fight for fair treatment of African-Americans. The Chicago Housing Authority named one of its first housing developments the Ida B. Wells Homes, and in 1990, the U.S. Postal Service honored her life's work by issuing the Ida B. Wells stamp.

I am pleased to be able to speak today about the accomplishments of these great Americans. Black History Month can help us look back and recognize the great obstacles African-Americans have overcome. It can also help us look ahead and recognize the great obstacles that still hinder African-Americans today.

The disenfranchisement of thousands of African-American citizens in Florida this past election year clearly illustrates this point. Instead of being proud that they participated in the democratic process, many African-Americans were outraged because their voices were silenced. Their votes did

not count. A disproportionate number of the invalidated votes cast for President in South Florida were from African-American and Caribbean communities. In all, an astounding one-third, 22,807, of the rejected ballots were cast in predominantly black areas.

Many African-Americans rightfully believe their disenfranchisement resulted from the use of antiquated voting equipment. Analysis of the Florida election plainly shows that Americans who voted in areas that utilized punch card ballots had a much greater chance that their vote would be invalidated than those who voted in areas that utilized more modern equipment. In this great democracy, it is unacceptable that thousands of legally qualified voters were disenfranchised because of obsolete voting machinery.

Unfortunately, this problem was not limited to Florida. In Fulton County, GA, a community with a large African-American population, punch-card voting equipment was used which resulted in one out of every 16 votes cast for President being invalidated. However, Fulton's neighbors, two largely white counties, utilized more modern equipment which resulted in only one in every 200 votes cast for President being invalidated.

Even my home State of Illinois was plagued with problems stemming from outdated voting equipment, especially in largely African-American communities. For instance, in Chicago, one out of every six votes cast for President was invalidated while almost none of the votes in some of the city's outer suburbs were rejected. This indefensible disparity is one of the reasons that I am proud to cosponsor the Federal Election Modernization Act of 2001. This Act will supply funding to States to help replace obsolete voting equipment. I personally believe the price to equip every voting precinct in the country with user-friendly and reliable mechanism to cast and count ballots is well worth it. The millions of dollars in estimated costs to ensure accuracy pale when compared to the value of protecting each individual's right to vote and the price paid by those who fought and gave their lives to secure this right.

As Americans, we must realize that even though discrimination is legally eradicated from American society, vestiges of the decades of discrimination still remain today. We need only look at the voting difficulties that plagued African-Americans in the 2000 election to demonstrate this point. If America is ever to achieve its full potential, we must acknowledge, address and eliminate the obstacles that African-Americans face not only during Black History Month, but every day.

Mrs. CARNAHAN. Mr. President, every February, our Nation pauses to recognize the tremendous contributions of African-Americans to the his-

tory of our Nation. In 1926, Dr. Carter G. Woodson established Negro History Week because he saw that most of the contributions African-Americans had made to American culture and industry were being ignored by historians.

We have come a long way since 1926. More and more of our history books acknowledge the contributions of African-Americans. Our schools have made it part of their curriculum, libraries and museums create exhibits, and our celebration of African-American history has been expanded to an entire month.

But we still have a long way to go.

We need African-American History Month because many people don't know about African-American heroes like Crispus Attucks, who led the Boston uprising in 1770 and became the first casualty of the American Revolution. Equally forgotten are African-American inventors like Garrett Morgan, who developed the traffic light and gas mask.

These Americans have added to the richness and greatness of our country. It is appropriate that as we stand in our Nation's Capitol, a structure which was built by the back-breaking labor of both free and slave African-Americans, we talk about the contributions African-Americans have made to this country's history and to its future.

I want to take a moment to focus on the contributions of Missourians.

Any Missourian can name George Washington Carver's most famous invention, peanut butter, but few realize the role Carver played in the agricultural revolution that occurred in the South in the early 1900's. Carver's work to wean the South from its single-crop cultivation of cotton and his development of commercial uses for alternate crops like peanuts and sweet potatoes helped modernize Southern agriculture, paving the way for a better life for the entire South.

Scott Joplin led a revolution of a different kind. While living in Sedalia, MO he created a blend of classical and folk music that took America by storm. Ragtime, as his style came to be called, has become America's unique contribution to classical music and is a driving force behind jazz and blues.

In literature, Missourians are proud of the heritage of Langston Hughes of Joplin, Missouri. One of the major American writers of the 20th century, Hughes was a poet, novelist, editor, playwright, and journalist.

Another African-American Missourian became famous not only as an inventor but also as the most outstanding jockey of his time. Tom Bass, of Mexico, MO trained some of the finest race and show horses of his day. At the peak of his career he rode in the Inauguration of President Grover Cleveland and gave a command performance before Queen Victoria. In addition to being a famous jockey, he invented the "Bass bit" which is still used today.

Missouri has borne some notable civil rights leaders as well. Perhaps the most prominent of them is Roy Wilkins. Wilkins served as executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 1955-1977. Appointed during the most turbulent era in the civil rights movement, Wilkins kept the NAACP on the path of nonviolence and rejected racism in all forms. His leadership and devotion to the principle of nonviolence earned him the reputation of a senior statesman in the Civil Rights Movement.

All of these great Missourians, and others too numerous to mention, struggled against bigotry and violence, but each showed, through their natural talents, that racism was not just wrong, but un-American. So it is fitting that we take this month to learn more about the history of African-Americans in this country, and recognize the contributions of African-Americans to our great Nation.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, February is Black History Month. For the last several years I have worked with other Senators and the Administration to help make history by breaking down the remaining vestiges of barriers to African-Americans and other minorities and women on the Federal courts around the country. We have had a number of successes in that regard over the last few years. I recall, in particular, the confirmations of Judge Sonia Sotomayor to the Second Circuit, Judge Julio Fuentes to the Third Circuit, Judge Eric Clay to the Sixth Circuit, Judge Ann Williams to the Seventh Circuit, Judges Richard Paez, Marsha Berzon, Johnnie Rawlinson, Kim Wardlaw and Margaret McKeown to the Ninth Circuit, Judge Charles Wilson to the Eleventh Circuit and a number of others.

Many took too long. Many were delayed by anonymous holds. Many other outstanding nominees were never accorded a hearing, a Committee vote or a vote by the United States Senate. One of my greatest regrets during my service in the Senate was the Republican caucus vote against Judge Ronnie White in 1999. I was glad to be able to provide him with the opportunity to testify and correct the record and clear his reputation and good name in the course of confirmation hearings on the Attorney General nomination in January.

As important as it is to remember our history, it is also important to make progress and add to that history. We continue to have the opportunity to do that here in the United States Senate. On January 3, 2001, President Clinton renominated Roger Gregory to serve on the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. Even though the Fourth Circuit, covering Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia, contains the largest African-American

population of any circuit in this country, it had never had an African-American appellate judge.

Last December, during an extended congressional recess, the President exercised his constitutional power to make recess appointments and appointed Roger Gregory to the Fourth Circuit.

In early January, when the Senate convened to begin this new season, the President resubmitted Judge Gregory's nomination to us.

In the ensuing weeks, the new President has seen fit to leave that nomination before the Senate for our consideration and action. Both Senator WARNER and Senator ALLEN support this nomination. Last year Senator Robb also strongly supported it.

Senator WARNER, Senator ALLEN, Senator Robb and Senator EDWARDS and others have all spoken in the last several months in support of the confirmation of Roger Gregory. Now it is time for the Senate to step up to the challenge and act on Judge Gregory's nomination to a full, lifetime appointment to that important judicial position.

Mr. Gregory was not the first African-American nominated to the Fourth Circuit. President Clinton nominated four qualified African-Americans to the Fourth Circuit: Judge James Beatty, of North Carolina was nominated in December 1995, and re-nominated in January 1997; Judge James Wynn, of North Carolina, was nominated in August 1999; Roger Gregory was nominated in June 2000; and Judge Andre Davis was nominated in October 2000. None of these exceptional candidates ever received a Judiciary Committee hearing, let alone a vote on the Senate floor.

Senator ALLEN, in one of his first speeches on the Senate floor, came here to talk about Roger Gregory's qualifications, and the importance of acting in a bipartisan way to confirm him. Here is what Senator ALLEN said:

[It] is my belief that in Roger Gregory, the Fourth Circuit—and, indeed, America—has a well-respected and honorable jurist who will administer justice with integrity and dignity. He will, in my judgment, decide cases based upon and in adherence to duly adopted laws and the Constitution. I respectfully urge my colleagues and the administration to join me in supporting Judge Gregory.

Senator JOHN WARNER joined the discussion, rising to say that he agreed with what Senator ALLEN had said on the need to confirm Roger Gregory. As reflected in letters that Senator WARNER shared with the Senate, he and Senator ALLEN have written to Senator HATCH and to President Bush urging that Judge Gregory receive a hearing and be confirmed. I commend them for their commitment to this nomination.

Roger Gregory was an outstanding lawyer, and he will be an exceptionally good judge on the Fourth Circuit. From Richmond, Virginia, Judge Greg-

ory was the first in his family to finish high school. After college and law school, he returned to be a professor at a school where his mother had worked as a maid. He entered private practice, and later founded his own, highly-respected law firm in Richmond, where he handled a wide variety of complex litigation matters in State and Federal court for individual and corporate clients. Roger Gregory built a reputation as a seasoned litigator and widely respected member of his community.

Judge Gregory's recess appointment as the first African-American judge on the Fourth Circuit also places him firmly in a tradition of using such appointments to bring diversity to the federal bench. Four of the five first African-American appellate judges were recess appointed to their first positions as Federal judges. That includes the appointment of William Henry Hastie as the first African-American on the Federal bench by President Harry Truman in 1949. Not long after that appointment, a little over 51 years ago, the Senate confirmed Judge Hastie, showing itself to be, as I have said many times, the conscience of the Nation.

The roster of trailblazing African-American recess-appointees also includes President John Kennedy's 1961 appointment of Thurgood Marshall to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals; Spottswood Robinson to the D.C. Circuit; and President Lyndon Johnson's 1964 appointment of Leon Higginbotham to the Third Circuit. Other well-known and well-respected judges to be appointed during a recess are: Judge David Bazelon to the D.C. Circuit; Judge Augustus N. Hand to the Second Circuit; Judge Griffin Bell of the Fifth Circuit; and Supreme Court Justices William Brennan and Earl Warren.

Today, during the month of February, Black History Month, I come to the Senate floor to call on my colleagues to once again shine as the conscience of the nation, and move quickly toward making Roger Gregory's lifetime appointment to the Fourth Circuit. He is eminently qualified to sit on the court, he has received praise for his integrity and legal talent, and he has been strongly endorsed by both of his home state Senators.

Roger Gregory should be given a hearing before the Judiciary Committee without further delay. In deference to the position that President Bush took during the campaign, the Senate should act on this nomination in the next couple of weeks. The excuse from last year, that his nomination in June came too late in the year for Senate action, is inapplicable now. Let his be the first judicial nomination to come before the Committee and the Senate this year. His papers have long since been submitted to the Committee—we have had them in hand for

eight months now. There can be no reason not to commit today, during this month when we honor the achievements and contributions of African-Americans, to move Roger Gregory swiftly to a hearing, through the Committee and then on to the Senate floor for a full Senate vote.

After all of the delays meted out to the previous African-American nominees to the Fourth Circuit, the Senate has another chance to make history. As history has been made in so many other occasions for African-American judges, let us not squander this opportunity to make Roger Gregory the first African-American to be confirmed by the United States Senate to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I am very pleased to commemorate African American History Month. Each year, during the month of February, we remember and reflect on the rich and extraordinary achievements of African Americans. We also remember and reflect on the suffering, degradation and brutality of slavery, which cannot be repaired, but the memory can serve to ensure that no such inhumanity is ever perpetrated again on American soil.

We remember and celebrate the brave and determined African American conductors of the Underground Railroad, like Harriet Tubman. In 1849, Tubman escaped from the Eastern Shore of Maryland and became known as "Moses" to her people when she made 19 trips to the South and helped deliver at least 300 fellow captives to liberation. We remember and celebrate John Parker of Ripley, Ohio who frequently ventured to Kentucky and Virginia to help transport by boat hundreds of runaway slaves across the Ohio River; and William Still, Robert Purvis and David Ruggles who in the 1830s organized and stationed vigilance committees throughout the North to help guide slaves to freedom destinations. And we remember and celebrate James Fairfield, who went into the deep South and rescued enslaved African Americans by posing as a slave trader, risking his life and property. We remember and celebrate the City of Detroit in my home state of Michigan where the Underground Railroad assisted over 40,000 slaves in reaching freedom in Canada.

Let us not forget, that we celebrate African American History Month because in 1926, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, son of former slaves, proposed such a recognition as a way of preserving the history of the Negro and recognizing the enormous contributions of a people of great strength, dignity, faith and conviction, a people who rendered their achievements for the betterment and advancement of a Nation once lacking in humanity towards them. Throughout the Nation, we celebrate the many important contributions African Americans have made in all facets of American life.

Lerone Bennett, editor, writer and lecturer recently reflected on the life and times of Dr. Woodson. In an article he wrote for Johnson's Publications, Bennett tells us that one of the most inspiring and instructive stories in African American history is the story of Woodson's struggle and rise from the coal mines of West Virginia to the summit of academic achievement:

At 17, the young man who was called by history to reveal Black history was an untutored coal miner. At 19, after teaching himself the fundamentals of English and arithmetic, he entered high school and mastered the four-year curriculum in less than two years. At 22, after two-thirds of a year at Berea College, in Kentucky, he returned to the coal mines and studied Latin and Greek between trips to the mine shafts. He then went on to the University of Chicago, where he received bachelor's and master's degrees, and Harvard University, where he became the second Black to receive a doctorate in history. The rest is history—Black history.

In keeping with the spirit and the vision of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, I would like to pay tribute to two courageous women, claimed by my home state of Michigan, who played significant roles in addressing American injustice and inequality. These are two women of different times who would change the course of history.

Sojourner Truth, who helped lead our country out of the dark days of slavery, and Rosa Parks, whose dignified leadership sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the start of the Civil Rights movement are indelibly etched in the chronicle of not only the history of this Nation, but are viewed with distinction and admiration throughout the world.

Sojourner Truth, though unable to read or write, was considered one of the most eloquent and noted spokespersons of her day on the inhumanity and immorality of slavery. She was a leader in the abolitionist movement, and a ground breaking speaker on behalf of equality for women. Michigan recently honored her with the dedication of the Sojourner Truth Memorial Monument, which was unveiled in Battle Creek, Michigan on September 25, 1999. I commend Dr. Velma Laws-Clay who headed the Monument Steering Committee and Sculptor Tina Allen for making their dream, a true monument to Sojourner Truth, a reality.

Sojourner Truth had an extraordinary life. She was born Isabella Baumfree in 1797, served as a slave under several different masters, and was eventually freed in 1828 when New York state outlawed slavery. Truth continued to live in New York and became strongly involved in religion. In 1843, in an act of religious faith, she changed her name to Sojourner Truth and dedicated her life to traveling and lecturing. She began her migration West in 1850, where she shared the stage with other abolitionist leaders such as Frederick Douglass.

In 1851, Sojourner Truth delivered her famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech at the Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio. In the speech, Truth attacked both racism and sexism. Truth made her case for equality in plain-spoken English when she said, "Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, cause Christ wasn't a woman? Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him."

By the mid-1850s, Truth had settled in Battle Creek, MI. She continued to travel and speak out for equality. During the Civil War, Truth traveled throughout Michigan, gathering food and clothing for Negro volunteer regiments. Truth's travels during the war eventually led her to a meeting with President Abraham Lincoln in 1864, at which she presented her ideas on assisting freed slaves. Truth remained in Washington, D.C. for several years, helping slaves who had fled from the South and appearing at women's suffrage gatherings. Due to bad health, Sojourner Truth returned to Battle Creek in 1875, and remained there until her death in 1883. Sojourner Truth spoke from her heart about the most troubling issues of her time. A testament to Truth's convictions is that her words continue to speak to us today.

On May 4, 1999 legislation was enacted which authorized the President of the United States to award the Congressional Gold Medal to Rosa Parks. The Congressional Gold Medal was presented to Rosa Parks on June 15, 1999 during an elaborate ceremony in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda. I was pleased to cosponsor this fitting tribute to Rosa Parks, the gentle warrior who decided that she would no longer tolerate the humiliation and demoralization of racial segregation on a bus. Her personal bravery and self-sacrifice are remembered with reverence and respect by us all.

Forty-five years ago in Montgomery, AL the modern civil rights movement began when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat and move to the back of the bus. The strength and spirit of this courageous woman captured the consciousness of not only the American people but the entire world.

My home state of Michigan proudly claims Rosa Parks as one of our own. Prompted by unceasing threats on their lives and persistent harassment, Rosa Parks and her husband moved to Detroit in 1957 where Parks' brother resided.

Rosa Parks' arrest in Alabama for violating the city's segregation laws was the catalyst for the Montgomery bus boycott. Her stand on that December day in 1955 was not an isolated incident but part of a lifetime of struggle for equality and justice. For instance, twelve years earlier, in 1943, Rosa

Parks had been arrested for violating another one of the city's bus related segregation laws, which required African Americans to pay their fares at the front of the bus then get off of the bus and re-board from the rear of the bus. The driver of that bus was the same driver with whom Rosa Parks would have her confrontation 12 years later.

The rest is history, the boycott which Rosa Parks began was the beginning of an American revolution that elevated the status of African Americans nationwide and introduced to the world a young leader who would one day have a national holiday declared in his honor, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

We have come a long way toward achieving justice and equality for all. But we still have work to do. In the names of Rosa Parks, Sojourner Truth, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and many others, let us rededicate ourselves to continuing the struggle on Civil Rights and to human rights.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, on the morning of the last day of the 20th century, as he was preparing his breakfast, Alan Cranston died at his home in Los Altos. After 86 years, his great huge heart just stopped.

There can never be a good time to lose someone like Alan Cranston. Such leaders are too rare. Still, there is something fitting about Alan Cranston leaving us just as the century came to a close. It was almost as if, having spent his life working to protect us from the darker possibilities of the 20th century, he held on until the last day in order to see us safely to the new century.

I first came to know Senator Cranston from a distance. He was four years into his second Senate term, and had just been elected Democratic Whip, when I was first elected to the House. That was back in 1978.

Studying Senator Cranston from the other chamber, I realized early on that he possessed a rare balance. He was a standard bearer for great public causes—and he was as good a behind-the-scenes organizer and vote counter as I have ever seen. He was a pragmatic idealist.

I also noticed something else about Alan Cranston back then. I noticed that he listened respectfully to all kinds of people and very often, just by listening, was able to bring people together. In this practice, and in many others, I have tried since then to follow his example.

Another thing I admired about Alan Cranston was his tremendous running ability. From the time he was in high school, he was a champion sprinter. In college, he was a member of the nation's fastest one-mile sprint relay